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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, January, 1899.

THE INFINITIVE WITH SUBJECT ACCUSATIVE IN MARGUERITE DE NAVARRE.*

IN no respect does French syntax of the sixteenth century differ more widely from that of to-day than in the use of the infinitive. In the time of Marot, the simple infinitive could still be used as a substantive, it could have a subject accusative, and could also be employed as a substitute for the imperative much more extensively than to-day.¹ In certain constructions where the infinitive with *de* is now required, the infinitive alone could be used: for example, as object of certain verbs; as modifier of nouns and adjectives; after *que* in comparisons, etc. So the infinitive with *de* was often used where modern usage requires either the simple infinitive, the infinitive with *à*, or the present participle. In rare cases the infinitive with *à* is found where we should now use the infinitive with *de*, or the present participle with *en*. Also *pour* with the infinitive was often written where present usage would demand a purpose, causal, or conditional clause with *que*. The object of this paper, however, is to give the results of an investigation of the writings of one of the well-known writers of the sixteenth century, Marguerite de Navarre, with reference to one, only, of these uses of the infinitive, and per-

* Texts used and corresponding abbreviations.

- D. P. *Les Dernières Poésies de Marguerite de Navarre*. Éd. Lefranc, Paris, 1896.
H. *L'Heptaméron des Nouvelles de Marguerite d'Angoulême, Reine de Navarre*. Éd. Dillaye, 3 vols., Paris, 1879.
L. D. *Marguerite d'Angoulême, Son Livre de Dépenses (1540-1549)*. Éd. La Ferrière, Paris, 1841.
Let. *Lettres de Marguerite d'Angoulême, Sœur de François I., Reine de Navarre*. Éd. Génin, Paris, 1841.
M. *Les Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses*. Éd. Felix Frank, 4 vols, Paris, 1873.
N. Let. *Nouvelles Lettres de la Reine de Navarre adressées au Roy François I., son Frère*. Éd. Génin, Paris, 1842.

¹ Cf. Modern Italian in this respect, also such expressions in Modern French as, VOIR *page 4*, S'ADRESSER *au bureau*, etc.

haps the most interesting one, its use with subject accusative.

Although Marguerite is generally more conservative of old forms and constructions than other writers of her time, this particular construction, being then *à la mode*, is scarcely more common in her writings than in those of her contemporaries.* It is found: (1) where we now have a complementary infinitive merely; (2) with factitives where the infinitive with dative is now used; (3) and also, as in Latin after verbs of knowing, saying, believing, etc.

a. THE SUBJECT ACCUSATIVE A REFLEXIVE.

In constructions like, "Je *désire être* heureux," "Il *croit avoir* raison," etc., in which the infinitive is now regarded as complementary merely, a subject accusative—a reflexive of the same person and number as the subject of the principal verb—was sometimes used in Classical Latin and is found in French as late as the seventeenth century. For example, we find in Cicero: "Cupio *me esse clementem*" (Cat. i. 2) for the more usual "Cupio *esse clemens*," and in seventeenth century French: "Cette chanson gaillarde qu'elle *se* confessait *avoir* chantée ailleurs" (Mme de Sév.), instead of: "Qu'elle *confessait avoir* chantée," simply.

Three examples of this usage have been noted in Marguerite de Navarre: Elle *se* montrant *avoir* pitié de luy, à sa requeste, meit sa main gantée sur son coeur . . . (H. iii. 93). C'est ceste voix que Saint Jehan *se* dit *estre* . . . (D P. 249). Qui fut homme de conscience comme elle *s'estimoyt estre* . . . (H. iii. 85). It may be noted that this construction is still admissible with *estimer* and *trouver*.

b. THE SUBJECT ACCUSATIVE OMITTED.

The construction exemplified in: "Je *désire être* heureux," "Il *croit avoir* raison," etc., was in the sixteenth century extended to many cases where modern usage demands a *que*-clause. The following examples will illustrate this usage in Marguerite: Je *voy n'avoir* accusateur *que* . . . (that is, Je *vois que je n'ai*, etc.) (M. i. 58). À Barcelone ou son mary

² Cf. Benoist, *La Syntaxe Française entre Palgrave et Vangelas*, Paris 1877, p. 112; also Darmesteter et Hatzfeld, *Le Sixième Siècle en France*, Paris, 1878, § 204.

auoit autresfois *ordonné estre enterré*—(that is, *qu'on l'enterrât*) (H. i. 144).

c. WITH FACTITIVES AND VERBS OF HEARING, SEEING, ETC.

In modern French such constructions as: *je l'ai fait venir*, *je l'ai vu partir*, *je l'ai entendu chanter*, etc., are as truly examples of the infinitive with subject accusative as is the following from Cicero: "*Sæpe hoc majores natu dicere* audivi. . . ." (Mur. 28). This construction has existed in French from the earliest times, and as late as the sixteenth century it was perfectly regular even when the infinitive had an object. For example, we find in Meigret's the following sentences given as model constructions: "*Je vue Pierre boere le vin*, *je l'ey vu boere le vin*, *je le voyoe boere le vin*." Even to-day the accusative is not uncommon after *voir* and *entendre* in such cases, though the dative is *de rigueur* after *faire*: cf. Daudet, "*C'était étourdissant d'entendre ces deux Tarasconnais célébrer . . . les splendeurs de*" etc.⁴

The following examples with *faire* and *voir* have been noted in Marguerite: *Estant au lit, il fist sa femme lire* La Passion. . . (D. P. 264). *J'ay bien veu des femmes faire* le signe de la croix en oyant dire des parolles. . . (H. iii. 62). *Le gentil homme fut courroucé de veoir sa femme le congnoistre* [that is, *le reconnaitre*] (id. iii. 110). But cf.: *Car Dieu en eulx leur a fait souvent dire*. . . (D. P. 214).

This construction was extended to verbs of *being* and *having* after *faire* and *voir*; numerous examples are found in Marguerite: *Peu d'amour faict l'homme estre joyeux* . . (D. P. 34). *D'animal le faict estre vray homme* . . (id. 303). *La plupart des grans d'Espagne desiroient fort de voir Madame estre leur princesse*. . . (N. Let. 187). *Voyant sa femme tant saige . . auoir esté delaisées de luy*. . . (H. i. 82). *Il se contente de voir toutes choses vous estre données de Dieu*. . . (Let. 406). *Voyant mon innocence, Ma vraye amour, Avoir pour recompence Un tel adieu*. . . (D. P. 363). *Car je ne vis oncques homme avoir*

une meilleure volonté que luy. . . (N. Let. 187). *Je ne vis jamais personne avoir* une si grande joye . . (id. 25). Cf. also: M. i. 31, 70; H. i. 23, 156; H. ii. 64, 97; H. iii. 202, 240.

d. AFTER VERBS OF THINKING, KNOWING, SAYING, ETC.

The most common of the Latin constructions of the infinitive with subject accusative, that of indirect discourse after verbs of thinking, knowing, saying, etc., was foreign to Old French, and was only introduced into the language by the *savants* during the Renaissance. Although it was received with favor by the literary people, it made no headway with the masses, and after one or two centuries fell into disuse, except in two constructions where it is occasionally used to-day.

According to Benoist,⁵ the infinitive with subject accusative is no longer a French construction. He says:

"Au xvi. siècle l'infinitif pouvait se construire comme l'infinitif latin, c'est-à-dire avec un sujet; ce tour de phrase est complètement tombé en désuétude."

Diez,⁶ however, sanctions the use of the construction when the subject is a relative as in: "*Les mêmes effets que nous avons dit appartenir à cette maladie*."

Haase⁷ speaking of this construction says:

"Bei den Verben des Denkens und Sagens ist diese Konstruktion gewöhnlich nur statthalt, wenn der Akk. ein Relativ ist, doch findet sie auch, wenn der Akk. ein Pron. pers. ist, z.B: *on l'estime être sage*, *chacun s'estime être sage* u.a. Immerhin wird die Sprache solche Sätze lieber meiden."

Such examples of the use of this construction as the following, make it still more difficult for us to accept the sweeping statement of Benoist, quoted above: "*Tout cela pour le grand patriote [Guillaume Tell] que tous savaient n'avoir jamais existé*."⁸

"Lequel se trouve n'avoir point de verbe à lui propre. . . ."⁹

Marguerite like her literary contemporaries¹⁰

⁵ L. c., p. 112.

⁶ *Gram. der Rom. Sprachen*, 3 vols. Bonn, 1856. See Vol. iii, p. 240.

⁷ *Franz. Synt. x des xvii. Jahrh.* Leipzig, 1888. See § 89 Anm.

⁸ Daudet, *l. c.*

⁹ Littré, *s. v.* qui, No. 12.

¹⁰ Cf. Benoist, *l. c.*, p. 113.

³ *Le Tresté de la Langue Francoise*. Ed. Foerster, Heilbronn, 1888. See p. 98.

⁴ *Tartarin sur les Alpes*.

was very fond of this Latin construction. In the ten volumes of her works studied, I have noted one hundred and twenty-nine examples, after thirty different verbs or verbal expressions as follows: after *voir*, nineteen examples;¹¹ after *dire*, fifteen; after *penser*, fourteen; after *savoir*, ten; after *connaître*, ten; after *estimer*, nine; after *croire*, six; after *cuyder*, *juger*, *promettre*, and *sentir*, four examples each; and one or two examples after each of several other verbs. Twenty-one different infinitives were found with subject accusative,—*être* occurring almost three times as often as all the others; *être* was found ninety-three times; *avoir*, seventeen; *venir*, four; and the following once each: *augmenter*, *causer*, *connaître*, *se consentir*, *couvrir*, *devoir*, *habiter*, *mourir*, *plaire*, *porter*, *prêcher*, *pouvoir*, *rendre*, *regner*, and *souffrir*.

(1) *The Subject Accusative a Personal Pronoun*. Fourteen examples of this construction have been found in Marguerite, occurring after the verbs *croire*, *cuyder*, *déclarer*, *désirer*, *estimer*, *dire*, *juger*, *sentir*, and *voir*. The construction is not yet obsolete, as appears from what has been stated above, though it has been little used since the sixteenth century: Je le croy *estre* parfaite guerison. . . (N. Let. 93). En ferme foy ne te pouvois lasser Et declairer *toy* rien et Dieu tout *estre*. . . (D. P. 404).

For other examples see: M. ii. 123; M. iv. 28; H. i. 244; H. ii. 258; H. iii. 87; N. Let. 30, 247; D. P. 264.

(2) *The Subject Accusative a Relative Pronoun*. This construction has been noted sixteen times in Marguerite after the verbs: *assurer*, *confesser*, *connaître*, *dire*, *douter*, *écrire*, *penser*, *prier*, *promettre*, *savoir*, *soutenir*, *voir*, and *vouloir*. Like the preceding one, it is still used occasionally, and will be sufficiently well illustrated by the following examples:

Lequel je connais [that is, *sais*] ne souffrir que pour aimer la parole de Dieu . . (N. Let. 99). La fiance *que* vous dictes *avoir* en moy . . (H. i. 113). Vne damoiselle *qu'*elle doubtoit se *porter* quelque amitié . . (H. iii. 162). Tout ce *que* j'ay pensé vous *plaire* . . (H. i. 111). Selon *que* le Cardinal de Bellay m'escrip-
voit *estre* vostre vouloir . . (N. Let. 126).

¹¹ Cf. under *c* above.

For other examples see: Let. 95, 138, 202, 256, 264, 319, 320, 321, 380; N. Let. 77, 131, 163, 186, 251; H. i. 44, 137, 160; H. ii. 211; H. iii. 114, 141, 146, 159; D. P. 200, 360; M. i. 35; M. iii. 11.

(3) *The Subject Accusative a Demonstrative, Possessive, or Indefinite Pronoun*. This construction which has apparently fallen into complete disuse occurs in Marguerite in the following examples: Cuydant *le nostre estre* vray . . (D. P. 31). D'or et d'argent . . montrant n'*estre* pas chiche *ceulx* qui les ont donnez si beaulx et riches . . (id. 152). Sachant ne leur *estre* donné *Rien* qui ne fust par le Tout ordonné . . (id. 254). [Le Roy] ne fault à l'article d'en sentir tout *venir* du tout puis-
sant . . (Let. 174). C'est l'aise que j'ay de savoir *la vostre* [santé] *augmenter* au travail . . (N. Let. 217). Cf. also D. P. 257.

(4) *The Subject Accusative a Noun*. The infinitive with a subject noun in the accusative, which all authorities agree has fallen into complete disuse, was the most common of all these constructions in the sixteenth century, Marguerite uses it sixty-five times after twenty-two different verbs as follows:

Avouer.—J'aduoue *le tort estre* mien . . (H. i. 139).

Assurer.—Je vous ousses plus que jamais asseuer *la santé* de Madame . . *estre* telle que vous la desirez et . . (N. Let. 73).

Douter(se).—Parlamente qui se doubtoit *le debat estre* à ses despens, leur dist . . (H. iii. 215).

Confesser.—Nous confessons *ce peché estre* tel Que . . (M. iii. 180).

Connaître.—(Ils) connoistront *leur malice* n'*avoir* seu[su] faire ignorer verité à l'esprit que . . (N. Let. 77). Je congnoz bien *ma gloire estre* tournée . . (M. i. 31). Cognoissant *la mere n'estre* si seure que le pere . . (H. iii. 235). Cf. also D. P. 283; M. ii. 182; Let. 266; N. Let. 46, 101.

Croire.—(Je) croyois *vostre contentement* De mon ennuy *couvrir* le sentiment . . (D. P. 20). Il eut fait conscience de croire *ung homme estre couché* avecq . . (H. iii. 115). Cf. also M. iii. 20, 200.

Cuyder.—Quelque iour après que la gentil homme cuydoit *les parolles* du prince *estre* mises en obly [note the passive] (H. iii. 68).

Cf. also H. ii. 194.

Dire.—Dites Dieu seul *estre* beau . . (M. i. 88). L'aveugle fol, qui telle vie meyne, Dit *la plus layde estre* la belle Helene . . (D. P. 168). (L'homme) Enfin dira . . . De court plaisir *venir long repentir* . . (id. 170). Cf. also D. P. 209, 223, 232; M. iv. 103.

Estimer.—Elle feyt *estimer sa faulte estre* vertu . . (H. ii. 52). Si vous estimez *sottise estre* simplicité . . (id. iii. 4). Cf. also M. i. 34; H. ii. 265; H. iii. 94.

Être certain.—Je suis certain . . . n'*estre* qu'un *Ton filz et toy* . . (M. i. 125).

Expérimenter.—Vous auez *experimenté ma volente estre* esgalle à la vostre . . (H. iii. 201).

Juger.—Homme duquel on pouoit iuger *la nature . . estre* plus serviteur de Bachus que . . (H. iii. 221). Doit on juger *un homme estre* sailli Hors de raison? (H. iii. 182). Je jugerois *mon amy* tous les coups *avoir* le droit . . (id. iv. 237).

Lire.—Bethleem avons lu trestous *estre* le lieu de son enfance . . (M. ii. 108).

Montrer.—Vous voulez la monstrier *estre* vice . . (H. ii. 133). La larme luy venoit à l'œil, monstrant *l'esprit n'estre* empesché D'aymer son Dieu . . (D. P. 281).

Penser.—En vous pensons *regner melancolie* . . (M. iv. 108). Car je pensoys *tout le pouvoir* d'enfer *Ne pouvoir* rompre ou lascher tant de fer . . (D. P. 130). Pensant *la femme estre* plus variable . . (id. 360). Cf. also N. Let. 46; Let. 154.

Promettre.—En trouua vne . . . dont la parolle estoit si douce & agreable, qu'elle promettoit *le visaige & le cuer estre* de mesme . . (H. ii. 61). Promectans *la iournée* presente *devoir* estre aussi belle que nulle des passées . . (H. ii. 244).

Savoir.—Si sçay-je bien *ma force n'estre* telle que . . (D. P. 19). Le Turc sachant *ses predications Causer* partout grandes esmotions . . (id. 256). Saichant *la maladie* de Madame *avoir esté* plus grande que . . (Let. 225). Cf. also N. Let. 265.

Sentir.—Je sens bien *le mal estre* mortel . . (M. i. 141). [Je] sentoys bien *le trespassement* maistre En durant *estre* . . . glorieux . . (D. P. 416).

Souffrir.—Ne souffrez pas *l'ennemy* . . . *avoir* ceste puissance . . (M. i. 52).

Trouver.—Vous trouerez *le conseil* que [je] vous donne *estre* venu de celle qui . . (L. D. 163).

*Voici*¹².—[Il] ne fut pas demie heure avecq elle que voicy *venir le mary* . . (H. i. 69).

Voir.—Cf. under *c* above.

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*Sedere, *Essere AND Stare IN THE POEMA DEL CID.*

I.

THE following article presents the substance of several reports delivered in the École des Hautes-Études, Paris, 1897-1898, in the Old-Spanish seminary of M. Morel-Fatio. To him and to Professor Sheldon of Harvard University the writer is indebted for many suggestions. It is hoped that the article will be found useful in hinting at the possible correction of verses in the *Poema del Cid*, which Cornu has not yet amended.

Modern Spanish possesses two verbs which perform the functions of the single verb copulative and substantive of the Classical Latin. These are *ser* and *estar*. *Estar*, in all its moods and tenses, represents etymologically the Latin STARE. *Ser*, in some of its moods and tenses, derives from the Latin ESSE, or rather from the Vulgar Latin *ESSERE; in others, it takes its forms from SEDERE. Thus we have to deal with three Latin verbs as the source of the two Spanish verbs.

In modern Spanish, *estar*, much weakened in signification, shows only a slight reflection of the original sense of STARE, as in *estar en pié*; while the forms of *ser* that proceed from SEDERE preserve no trace of the primary meaning to *sit, to be seated*. In general, *ser* and *estar* now perform quite similar duties, their individual employment being determined only by the consideration of permanency and transiency. It was not wholly thus in the older language of the *Poema del Cid*, which we may take to represent Spanish of the twelfth century—modified, no doubt, in some

¹² Cf. also Châteaubriand, *Génie du Chris.*, iii. 4. "Cependant les tonnerres se taisent et voicy venir une voix: 'Écoute, Ô toi Israël!'" and Dante, *Inferno*, iii, "Ed ecco verso noi venir per nave Un vecchio bianco per antico pelo." . . .